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1981/06/04

SECRET



SECRETARY'S TALKING POINTS: TAIWAN

Objective: To reach a modus vivendi on the Taiwan issue including the parameters of our unofficial relationship and arms sales, while seeking China's reaffirmation of its resolve to use only peaceful methods to settle the issue.

FRAMEWORK

- -- THE US IS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE FRAMEWORK OF
 RELATIONS EMBODIED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JANUARY 1, 1979,
 ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. THE PRESIDENT
 AND ALL MEMBERS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT THIS COMMITMENT.
- -- OUR DEALINGS WITH TAIWAN WILL REMAIN IN THE UNOFFICIAL CHANNELS WHICH WERE ESTABLISHED AFTER NORMALIZATION.
- THE TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT (TRA) WAS NECESSARY UNDER OUR SYSTEM TO ESTABLISH THE LEGAL BASIS FOR UNOFFICIAL CONTACTS.

 WHEN WE SPEAK OF IMPLEMENTING THE TRA WE ARE NOT IN ANY SENSE CONTRADICTING THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE. WE WILL IMPLEMENT THE TRA IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE.

PRC-TAIWAN

- WE ARE AWARE OF CHINA'S STATED INTENTION TO USE ONLY
PEACEFUL MEANS TO RESOLVE THE TAIWAN PROBLEM, AND PRESIDENT
REAGAN APPRECIATED AMBASSADOR CHAI'S REASSURANCE ON THIS
POINT.

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- -- WE HAVE NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE CONTINUED

 REDUCTION OF TENSIONS IN THE TAIWAN STRAIT AND HOPE THAT THE

 PRC WILL CONTINUE TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT.
- WE ALSO WELCOME THOSE FORMS OF <u>INDIRECT CONTACT</u>
 BETWEEN THE MAINLAND AND TAIWAN WHICH HAVE EVOLVED IN RECENT
 YEARS, FOR EXAMPLE, INDIRECT TRADE, CASUAL OVERSEAS CONTACTS
 AND OCCASIONAL TRAVEL. WE HOPE THAT SUCH CONTACTS MAY EVOLVE
 FURTHER.
- -- WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS DESIRABLE OR

 APPROPRIATE FOR US TO TAKE A DIRECT ROLE IN PROMOTING SUCH

 CONTACTS OR IN BROKERING A SOLUTION TO THE TAIWAN PROBLEM.

 THAT IS SOMETHING WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO WORK OUT
 WITH TAIPEI.

U.S. ARMS SALES

- -- AT THE TIME OF NORMALIZATION, THE U.S. INDICATED THAT
 IT WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO TAIWAN CERTAIN

 CAREFULLY SELECTED DEFENSIVE WEAPONS. WE HAVE DONE THIS -BEARING IN MIND THAT THE PRC IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO SUCH
 SALES -- BOTH FOR POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC REASONS.
- -- POLITICALLY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR ELECTED
 REPRESENTATIVES WOULD NOT HAVE TOLERATED A TOTAL CUT-OFF OF
 ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN, WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE FOR SO LONG BEEN
 CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH US.

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- -- STRATEGICALLY, IT WOULD SERVE NEITHER US NOR PRO
 INTERESTS TO DRIVE TAIWAN TO DESPERATION.
- -- WE MUST THEREFORE CONTINUE TO PROVIDE CERTAIN ITEMS TO TAIWAN. OUR PURPOSE IS NOT TO REINTRODUCE TENSIONS INTO THE TAIWAN STRAIT. ON THE CONTRARY, THE PRESENT LOW LEVEL OF TENSIONS PERMITS US TO EXAMINE TAIWAN'S REQUESTS MORE CAUTIOUSLY.
- -- ON THE QUESTION OF AN ADVANCED FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE AND NONE IS EXPECTED BEFORE THE END OF THIS YEAR. DURING 1982, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO MAKE NEW SALES OF AIRCRAFT TO TAIWAN AS EXISTING AIRCRAFT BECOME OBSOLETE OR WEAR OUT.

MUTUAL SENSITIVITIES

-- BOTH THE U.S. AND CHINA MUST APPROACH THE TAIWAN ISSUE WITH PRUDENCE AND RESTRAINT. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THIS ISSUE IS ACUTELY SENSITIVE IN CHINA. IT IS ALSO SENSITIVE IN THE UNITED STATES. YOU ARE AWARE THAT SOME AMERICANS FEEL THAT THE MANNER IN WHICH WE SEVERED RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN WAS

UNNECESSARILY HARSH AND ABRUPT. WE VALUE OLD FRIENDS, AS CHINA DOES, AND WE PLAN TO DEAL WITH TAIWAN IN A DIGNIFIED MANNER. BUT THIS WILL NOT AFFECT THE UNOFFICIAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH U.S.-TAIWAN CONTACTS ARE HANDLED.

- -- IN THIS CONTEXT, I SHOULD ALSO NOTE THAT THE U.S.

 GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE THE LEGAL AUTHORITY AND DOES NOT

 SEEK TO LIMIT EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION OR CONTACTS BY PRIVATE

 CITIZENS.
- -- WE STRONGLY URGE THAT CHINA TAKE ACCOUNT OF OUR

 OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AND DEEDS, NOT CASUAL REMARKS BY PRIVATE

 U.S. CITIZENS OR BY CITY OR STATE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS -- AND

 EVEN OCCASIONALLY BY FEDERAL OFFICIALS -- WHICH MAY NOT

 REPRESENT OFFICIAL U.S. POLICY. WE NEED CHINA'S TOLERANCE ON

 THIS DIFFICULT ISSUE, AND ITS TRUST THAT WE WILL KEEP OUR

 WORD.
- -- AS A PART OF THIS TOLERANCE, WE FEEL THAT THE LESS

 PUBLICITY ABOUT THE TAIWAN PROBLEM THE BETTER. WE DO NOT

 SEEK ANY PUBLICITY. OBVIOUSLY WE CANNOT PREVENT TAIPEI FROM

 CLAIMING THAT THERE IS MORE GOING ON THAN THERE REALLY IS.

 BUT WE URGE THAT CHINA NOT OVERREACT TO TAIWAN PRESS STORIES,

 WHICH MAY BE INTENTIONALLY SELF-SERVING OR INTENTIONALLY

 DISRUPTIVE OF CLOSE US-CHINA TIES.